1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

535 628 301 to take part in the attack on their enemies, i.e., all the able-bodied adult males, decorated themselves with red paint and white clay, and put on ornaments of *Pandanus* leaf or netting and shells. Each man held in his hands or placed in his belt or head-dress plumes of shredded *Tetranthera* wood (called *čelmo* in *Aka-Jeru*, *uj* in *Aka-Bea*). These plumes of shredded wood are now often worn or carried in an ordinary dance, but I believe that in former times they were the distinctive sign of a war-dance. To make them, a short length of the wood is taken (generally a piece of an old broken pig-arrow) and the wood is carefully shredded with a *Cyrena* shell, care being taken not to break any of the longitudinal fibres. One end is then tied with a piece of string or fibre. Similar plumes are made from *Pandanus* wood, and are carried or worn in a similar manner.

When the attacking party set out from their village each man wears a plume of shredded *Tetranthera* wood thrust into the back of his belt. They rub their bows with the shredded wood, [789] and say that this has the effect of making their own bows shoot well and those of their enemies shoot badly.

682 784 If a man kills another in a fight between two villages, or in a private quarrel, he leaves his village and goes to live by himself in the jungle, where he must stay for some weeks, or even months. His wife, and one or two of his friends may live with him or visit him and attend to his wants. For some weeks the homicide must observe a rigorous tabu. He must not handle a bow or arrow. He must not feed himself or touch any food with his hands, but must be fed by his wife or a friend. He must keep his neck and upper lip covered with red paint, and must wear plumes of shredded *Tetranthera* wood (*čelmo*) in his belt before and behind, and in his necklace at the back of his neck. If he breaks any of these rules it is supposed that the spirit of the man he has killed will cause him to be ill. At the end of a few weeks the homicide undergoes a sort of purification ceremony. [783] His hands are first rubbed with white clay (*tol-odu*) and then with red paint. After this he may wash his hands and may then feed himself with his hands and may handle bows and arrows. He retains the plumes of shredded wood for a year or so.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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776 821 796 during which they eat the grub. When the time agreed upon for the performance of the ceremony arrives, all the members of the community are careful to be in the camp before sunset. As soon as the sun sets and the cicadæ begin their shrill cry, all the men, women and children present begin to make as much noise as they possibly can, by banging on the sounding-board, striking the ground with bamboos, beating pieces of wood together, or hammering on the sides of canoes, while at the same time shouting. They continue the noise, which entirely drowns that of the cicada, until after darkness has fallen. The rite may be performed, I believe, two or more times, on successive evenings. My informant explained the rite by saying that the natives have been eating the cicada, and the rite is intended to "kill" those that are left. After the rite the cicada disappears and is not seen or heard for some weeks, and there follow four months of fine weather with little rain.

776 821 784 The beliefs relating to bees'-wax, to the various edible roots, and to the cicada, are the same in all the Great Andaman tribes, and are by far the most important of those connected with *Biliku*. In the North Andaman *Biliku* is supposed to be angry if any one kills a *biliku* (spider) a *reo* (a species of insect making a noise like a cicada, during the daytime, which I often heard, but never saw), or a *čatlo* (a species of beetle). There is also a bird, which I was not able to identify, called *tọrọi*, which belongs to *Biliku* and may not be killed.

In the *A-Pučikwar* tribe it is said that two species of fish, called *unakoro* and *liwat* belong to *Bilik* and may not be killed. A mollusc, called *towa*, also belongs to *Bilik*, and is for that reason never eaten. A bird called *Bilik-t'ar-dala* (probably the same bird that is called *tọrọi* in the North Andaman) may not be killed.

In the *Akar-Bale* tribe I was told that two kinds of wood, *bukura* and *worago*, must not be used for firewood, for fear of offending *Puluga*, to whom they belong. *Bukura* is a species of *Diospyros* (ebony).

776 821 789 The only punishment that *Biliku* ever inflicts on human beings when she is angry with them for any reason, is to send violent storms. The way to stop a storm seems to be to frighten

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Biliku. One means of doing this is to throw the leaves of the *Mimusops littoralis* in the fire. These leaves explode with the heating of the juices and make a crackling or popping noise, which it is said that *Biliku* dislikes. I believe, however, that if any one were thus to burn *Mimusops* leaves during fine weather, it would be regarded as likely to cause a storm. The most efficacious means of stopping a storm is to do some of the things that *Biliku* most dislikes. To burn bees'-wax, or to go into the jungle and damage or destroy the creepers that belong to her, these are the heroic remedies against *Biliku's* anger.

The question of the Andamanese beliefs about storms is complicated by the fact that although all storms are said to be made by *Puluga* or *Biliku*, yet there is an alternative and contradictory belief that storms are made by the spirits of the sea (*Jurua*). It is said that if a piece of the *Anadendron paniculatum* creeper were to be burnt there would be a great cyclone, but this appears to be associated, not with *Biliku*, but with the spirits of the sea. It will be shown later that there is a special connection between the *Jurua* and this plant. The belief that a storm will arise if turtle fat be allowed to burn in the fire seems also to be connected with the *Jurua* and not with *Biliku*. The same is probably the case with a belief that rain will come if a *Ficus laccifera* tree be damaged.

Some of the methods used to stop storms are also probably connected with the spirits and not with *Biliku*. One such method is to go into the sea and swish arrows about in the water. One *oko-jumu* (medicine-man) of the North Andaman is reputed to have stopped a big cyclone by taking a few pieces of *Anadendron paniculatum* and crushing them, and then diving into the sea and placing the crushed creeper under a stone. An *oko-jumu* who died while I was in the islands is supposed to have been able to stop a storm by similarly placing leaves and twigs of the *Ficus laccifera* (*reyko*) under a rock in the sea.

To complete the account of this part of the Andamanese beliefs it is necessary to quote what Mr Man writes about the tribes of the South Andaman. Mr Man describes *Puluga* as a "Supreme Being" and says that some of the beliefs of the Andamanese relating to him "approximate closely to the true

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

their encampment when the phenomenon occurs, they invariably secrete themselves, at the bottom of a boat, for example, if fishing, and remain silent for a short time before venturing to resume their interrupted employment. 776 821

5. Between dawn and sunrise they will do no work, save what is noiseless, lest the sun should be offended, and cause an eclipse, storm, or other misfortune to overtake them. If, therefore, they have occasion to start on a journey or hunting expedition at so early an hour, they proceed as quietly as possible, and refrain from the practice, observed at other periods of the day, of testing the strength of their bow-strings, as the snapping noise caused thereby is one of those to which the sun objects. 784 821

6. They invariably partake of a meal soon after rising, as it is believed that no luck can attend any one who starts to his day's work on an empty stomach. 777 264

7. They dare not use the wood of the tree called *al·aba-* (the bark of which supplies the fibre used in making harpoon lines and turtle nets) for cooking turtle, for, as will be found elsewhere,[1] this is an act so abhorrent to *mai·a .ō·gar-* that he visits the offenders with summary and condign punishment. 776

8. In tempestuous weather the leaves of the *Mimusops Indica* are constantly thrown on the fires, as the popping sounds thus produced are thought to have the effect of assuaging *Pū·luga-*'s fury and causing the weather to moderate. 821 776 [789]

9. When they see a dark cloud approaching at a time when rain would prove very inconvenient, as when hunting, travelling, &c., they advise *Pū·luga-* to divert its course by shouting "*.wâ·ra-jō·lo kō·pke, kō·pke, kō·pke*" [*Wā·ra-jōbo*[2] will bite, bite, bite (you)]. If in spite of this a shower falls they imagine that *Pū·luga-* is undeterred by their warning.

10. This practice of menacing *Pū·luga-* is probably that to which Colonel Symes alluded when he wrote that "they confess the influence of a malignant Being, and, during the south-west monsoon, when tempests prevail with unusual violence, they deprecate his wrath by wild choruses."

11. Storms are regarded as indications of *Pū·luga-*'s anger; winds are his breath, and are caused to be blown by his will; when it thunders *Pū·luga-* is said to be growling at something which has annoyed him; and lightning, they say, is a burning log flung by him at the object of his wrath.

12. There is an idea current that if during the first half of the rainy season they eat the *Caryota sobolifera*, or pluck and eat the seeds of the *Entada pursætha*, or gather yams or other edible 821 776 262

[1] *Vide post* "Mythology," paragraph 32.

[2] This snake, as already mentioned under "Medicine," appears to be the *Ophiophagus elaps*.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

821 roots, another deluge would be the consequence, for *Pū·luga-* is
776 supposed to require these for his own consumption at that period
262 of the year; the restriction, however, does not extend to the *fallen* seeds of the *Entada pursætha*, which may be collected and eaten at any time with impunity.

821 13. Another of the offences visited by *Pū·luga-* with storms
776 is the burning of beeswax,[1] the smell of which is said to be
● 789 peculiarly obnoxious to him. Owing to this belief it is a common practice secretly to burn wax when a person against whom they bear ill-will is engaged in fishing, hunting, or the like, the object being to spoil his sport and cause him as much discomfort as possible; hence arises the saying among them, when suddenly overtaken by a storm, that some one must be burning wax.

776 14. The rainbow is regarded as *ē·rem-chàw·gala's* dancing
821 or sounding board, which is only visible at certain times; its
787 appearance is said to betoken approaching sickness or death to one of their number, and is, therefore, inauspicious.[2]

823 15. There are no superstitions anent hills, valleys, rocks, &c.,
776 which, as stated in my last paper,[3] *Pū·luga-* is believed to have formed for some purpose of his own. The formation of creeks is attributed to a fortunate accident, the account of which being connected with their traditions must be reserved for that section.[4]

823 16. They imagine earthquakes to be caused by some mis-
775 chievous male spirits of their deceased ancestors, who, in their impatience at the delay in the resurrection, combine to shake the palm-tree on which they believe the earth to rest, in the hope thereby of destroying the cane bridge[5] which stretches between this world and heaven, and alone maintains the former in its present position. These selfish spirits are, however, said to be careful never to indulge in such practices during the dry months, as they imagine that, in consequence of the surface of the earth being then much cracked with heat, there would be considerable risk of its tumbling about their ears and crushing them instead of toppling over in one solid mass. They are said, therefore, never to play at earthquakes except during, or shortly after, the rainy season. But for the intervention of female spirits, who do their utmost to dissuade or prevent their male companions from continued enjoyment of this dangerous pastime, they are persuaded that there would be much cause for alarm on every occurrence of an earthquake.

775 17. They believe that every child which is conceived has had a

[1] *d'ya pid-* (*vide ante* "Death and Burial," paragraph 4, footnote).
[2] The Chippeway Indians call it the dancing spirit (*vide* "Travels in the Interior of North America," by Maximilian, Prince of Wied).
[3] *Vide ante* "Topography," paragraph 3.
[4] *Vide post* "Mythology" paragraph 13.
[5] *Vide post* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 35.

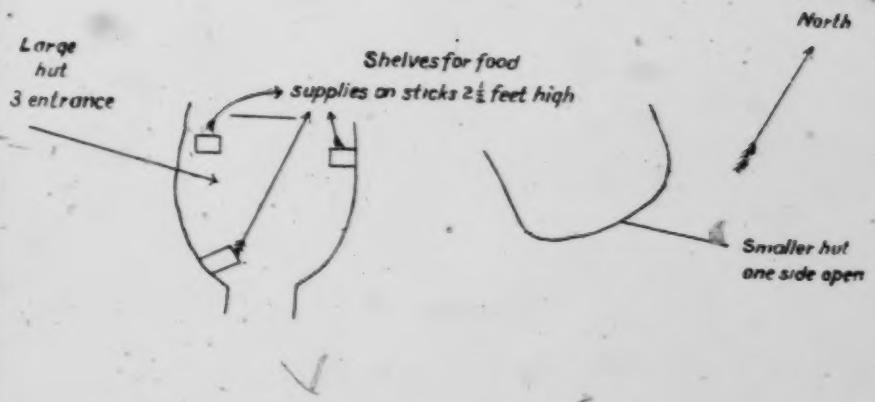
24th February.—Left camp about 7-30 A.M. Our party consisted of :— 008

Mr. Vaux.
Mr. Rogers.
Mr. Benig.
16 Andamanese.

(1) Henry.
(2) Golot.
(3) Magri.
(4) Daniel.
(5) Bobby.
(6) Beala.
(7) Mathew.
(8) Waloga.
(9) Jack.
(10) Thomas.
(11) Aré.
(12) Dura.
(13) Burat.
(14) David.
(15) Beabot.
(16) Iraged.

One policeman.
My *mallah* Sher Khan.
Mr. Benig's servant.
Mr. Vaux's servant.

We first went south with little east in it along a stream, which we then followed up to its source and along a ridge and up a slope to the top of a rounded hill with gentle slopes, the highest hill about. The top of the hill was a bamboo forest. Found a rains hunting camp perched on the summit of the hill of two huts, one of which was much larger than the cold weather hunting camps. The huts were arranged as shown below and were under the shade of bamboos. 361



We reached this camp about 9 A.M. The thatching leaves were quite dry, but the roofs were in good order and waterproof. There is no water anywhere near it in the cold weather.

David (Andamanese) and two others had come on as far as this camp yesterday while reconnoitring for the path, so took us at a smart walk to it.

We then went down the flanks of this hill (shown as an intersected point on the survey map) and followed down a stream some way, and leaving it crossed a ridge and followed down another stream and came upon another hunting camp, which had been recently vacated : the Andamanese said probably about four days ago.

On our way to this camp we found some branches bent down in hoops and tied across the path. The Andamanese said this was done to stop the birds from telling us where the Jarawas had gone. In the camp two large stones were tied up with a piece of bark and left in the camp; we were told that this had been done for a similar reason.* [789]

* This may account for the heavy stones which are found on the bodies of persons murdered by the Jarawas.

6: Cipriani E-5 (1951-1953)1961 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Onge

no specialized physicians, the Onge do not understand that payment can be exacted for medical care. This stems from the fact that wages are not considered by those happy people as payment for any kind of work whatsoever, but only as a gift. I realized this when I tried to pay my guides after our extenuating marches through the jungle : in order to avoid offending the natives that we had casually met in the course of our trip, I had to give equal reward to everybody.

The Onge consider some men or women better endowed than others with anti-malefic influence ; but these too neither demand nor receive wages for their services. Evil spirits or evil persons are believed to be principally responsible for illness. A series of superstitions and remarkable habits derive from this belief. The above-mentioned precautions concerning the *naquinĕghĕ* are among them. For identical reasons they carefully hide hair cuttings, but not nail parings, for the simple reason that nails are never cut but worn down by digging for edible roots, fishing, and other rough work. Superstition, as we know, is also the reason for painting the body to prevent fever and other ills.

In the depths of their jungle the Onge appear to practice some kind of witchcraft. On several occasions I noticed the mysterious behaviour of some natives travelling with me. Occasionally a man left our marching column to examine the inside of a huge hollow tree and signal to his friends. They did not prevent me from looking into the hollow, where I saw only a simple structure of short sticks resembling a trap without being one. The Onge do not use traps ; moreover, those structures were far too flimsy to catch anything. Often, two or three men assembled in consultation, rearranged the sticks that had probably been dislodged by the passage of lizards, crabs or other small animals, and walked away silently. I could get no explanation on the matter. Certainly the Onge are sagacious observers of animal and vegetable life and have deep knowledge of their hidden properties. Some trees are probably used for magical purposes, but, I insist, it is impossible as yet to affirm it. The structures in question consisted of four vertical sticks, about 30 cms long, joined at the top by four more sticks of approximately the same length, placed horizontally. The result was a box-like frame, loose and unsecured. The slightest disturbance, such as a light breeze, could destroy the flimsy construction. As far as I could guess they invested those structures with curative properties, but in what manner remains a mystery. I noticed analogous practices among Central African Pygmies and other primitives.

It is very clear that the Onge dread illness and magic spells, for they consider themselves at a loss in fighting such evils. Unhygienic habits are of no importance to them.

Resting is considered favorable to good health. The Onge indulge voluptuously in rest, interrupting it, however, with too frequent sexual excursions. They mainly rest from doing nothing, because 90 % of their time is spent in what, for them, is the most agreeable manner of enjoying life.

In mid-March, when the honey harvest reaches its peak, the Onge guzzle

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

They have neither incantations, amulets nor propitiating signs to help them. Even the *marque de chasse* found on their arrow heads had no major significance; in all probability they merely served to indicate the best arrow and at most they served as a warning to the womenfolk not to touch them (it is interesting that I never saw any woman or child with a bow or an arrow). But this is as far as they go towards superstition, and its only effect is to enhance the division of duties between the sexes.

The Onges, unlike the Jarawas and Arioto, have never lost the art of canoe making, and the building of a new canoe is an important matter. The selected tree, always one of the three species of *Sterculia*, is felled and then hollowed out slowly and laboriously with a rudimentary form of hatchet, the work often being done by one man alone. The weight of the felled trunk makes it necessary for the work to be done where it falls, but after much patient whittling away the resulting canoe is extremely light, with thin walls, though still not light enough to be carried to the water, never far away. A series of short logs are used as rollers in the age-old way and the builder's friends all gather to help clear a way through the undergrowth and prepare the rollers. Only a few are needed; all is soon ready and the Onges watch delightedly as the canoe glides away down to the shore. These canoe-ways often provided me with an easy path to the sea if I came upon them in the forest. Sometimes they led not to shore but to one of the many creeks, where salt water and marine fauna penetrate miles inland and make it easy for the Onges to launch their canoes from a point far from the sea.

The Onge canoe, hollowed out in one piece, is a survival of the ancient canoes of the Neolithic age, found in Switzerland and elsewhere in Europe. It survives in the Andamans, and through Oceania to the Americas, in northern Asia (notably among the Ainu) in south-west Asia, and even in south-east Africa.

The canoe has no distinction between bow and stern, and is commonly navigated from either. At each end of the canoe a crude platform juts out, on which the harpoon throwers stand. Very careful attention is paid to the float, which is fragile, and is therefore kept on the lee side. The object of it is to prevent the canoe from capsizing, which it is otherwise very liable to do owing to its round keel, always left in the natural shape of the tree-trunk. I had some experiences of rough seas in one of these canoes

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Brown states that dugong skulls are found among the hunting trophies of the Andamanese. I can myself vouch for the fact that this is not the case among the Onges or the twenty-three surviving Arioto; both keep dugong jaws and long bones, but the skulls of only pigs and turtles. The Andamanese in general do not regard animal bones as having the same protective powers as human; the existence in the Andamans of any magical practices connected with either animal or human bones has not, in my view, been adequately proved. In the absence of such proof I feel unable to agree with the authors who assert that these practices do exist, and I am inclined to feel that the cultural level of the peoples of the Andamans is so low as to rule out the existence of magic or witchcraft in any form.

From the mass of data of all kinds I was able to collect on my trips to the Andamans, a general pattern emerges from which it is possible to draw substantial conclusions as to the cultural and somatic origins of the Onges and hence of the other peoples of the archipelago. To summarize these conclusions must inevitably involve some repetition of what has been said in previous chapters.

Taking first the people of the Nicobar Islands, the nearest geographically to the Andamanese, it is generally accepted that with the exception of the Shom-Pen of Great Nicobar the Nicobarese are culturally closely similar. Although there are no pure Negrito types in the Nicobars there are evident crosses, similar to those which appear in one area of Sumatra to the east, where a small Negrito component exists among a predominantly mongoloid type. This may well be the result of the Negritos having spread at one time over a very wide area and there is in fact cultural evidence in support of the suggestion.

The mongoloid somatic type of the Nicobars appears in the general shape and proportions of the body, skin colour, facial contours, and the hair, which is long and straight, unlike that of the Negritos. Both types, however, have scant body hair, and differ in this respect from the pygmies of Africa.

Although the size and skin colour of most Nicobarese is very different from the Onges, a few are strikingly like them in facial contours, size, and woolly hair. There are also legends of a people who lived in the Nicobars long ago, small, very black, with tight